

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 171 645

SO 011 746

AUTHOR Slawski, Carl
TITLE Social Actualization: A Theory of Community Living Arrangements and a Practical Utopia.
PUB DATE Sep 78
NOTE 41p.; Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (San Francisco, California, September 4-8, 1978)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Child Rearing; Children; Child Responsibility; *Collective Settlements; Evaluation Criteria; Extended Family; Family Life; Family Relationship; Females; Futures (of Society); *Group Experience; Group Relations; Human Relations; Interpersonal Competence; *Interpersonal Relationship; Parent Child Relationship; Peer Relationship; Privacy; Religious Cultural Groups; Research Needs; *Self Actualization; Sex Role; Social Responsibility; *Success Factors

IDENTIFIERS Kibbutzim

ABSTRACT

Characteristics of successful living arrangements in intentional communities are presented by examining kibbutz life. The first section discusses four bases for establishing and maintaining an intentional community: interest, justice, cultural flowering, and love (deep interpersonal and intergroup relationships and religious values). The second section tests 26 hypotheses of successful community living against the kibbutz system. The document concludes that the strongest characteristic of the kibbutz is that after 18 months of age children do not live with parents and siblings as a tightly knit family unit. Positive results are that this arrangement in the kibbutz promotes better family relations, provides a high potential for attaining deep relationships among the children, relieves parents of the burden of being the primary socializing agent, and thus promotes a deeper relationship between parent and child, and eliminates sibling rivalry. Children become independent of their parents, learn to make their own decisions, and are good workers. Also, the close contact among all members promotes a higher degree of productivity. Finally, common ownership of wealth and property eliminates the need for self-aggrandizement. Problems include a lack of privacy, confusion and frustration among women in renouncing their traditional domestic roles, and lack of contact with outside cultures. An outline of critical criteria for evaluating intentional communities is included. (KC)

* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *

- ED171645

SOCIAL ACTUALIZATION:

A THEORY OF COMMUNITY LIVING ARRANGEMENTS AND A PRACTICAL UTOPIA

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Carl Slawski

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

by Carl Slawski

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRO-
DUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM
THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGIN-
ATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS
STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT
OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Of the Sociology Department
California State University
Long Beach, CA 90840

For presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association,
San Francisco, September 4-8, 1978.

Prepared for the section on "New Communities: An Examination of Assumptions."

SP 011 746

Introduction

The notion of utopia conjures up fanciful and unrealistic science fiction. But that is not what is intended here. It is time to put an end to mere fancy and to replace it by social planning and practical policy guidelines. Beginning with a consideration of some underlying concepts upon which utopias have been based, the author will try to show how these can be given relative priority weightings and can then be woven into the strands of a moderately predictive theory. The result will represent an ideal to work for. Objective, hard data-based statements or social laws are virtually impossible to come by in the realm of planning. As a consequence we will not aim for the impossible. We will rather aim for a systematic statement of worthwhile goals along with some social mechanisms and procedures and global processes which are most likely to lead us to the desired end.

Outlines of the Model

Chart A locates the five global factors surrounding utopian values. It also shows the seven hypotheses indicating the causal direction of flow of the mutual influence of the global factors. This chart is a simplified version of Chart B which enumerates the main variables to be taken into account later. The overall layout of both charts is the same. Only the numbering and amount of detail is different. In order to ease the reader into the detailed hypotheses, the seven basic ones from Chart A will be stated without illustration. The basic reasonableness of these hypotheses will be readily understood. Each arrow (numbered with a Roman numeral) corresponds to one hypothesis. Notice that there are three wide columns on the page corresponding to cultural, intrapersonal and situational systems of action. The upper right hand quadrangle denotes "consequences" in general. The lower right quadrangle and the intrapersonal column together denote general "facilitators" of utopian "consequences."

I. The cultural background of the community strongly influences the factors inside the person(s) that will eventually facilitate achievement of utopian goals.

II. These intrapersonal facilitative factors, when collectively put into practice, aid the achievement of key socio-personal goals.

III. The putting into practice of certain social means in the community will also aid in achievement of key socio-personal goals.

IV. Achievement of certain key socio-personal goals leads to attainment of the more strictly social aims.

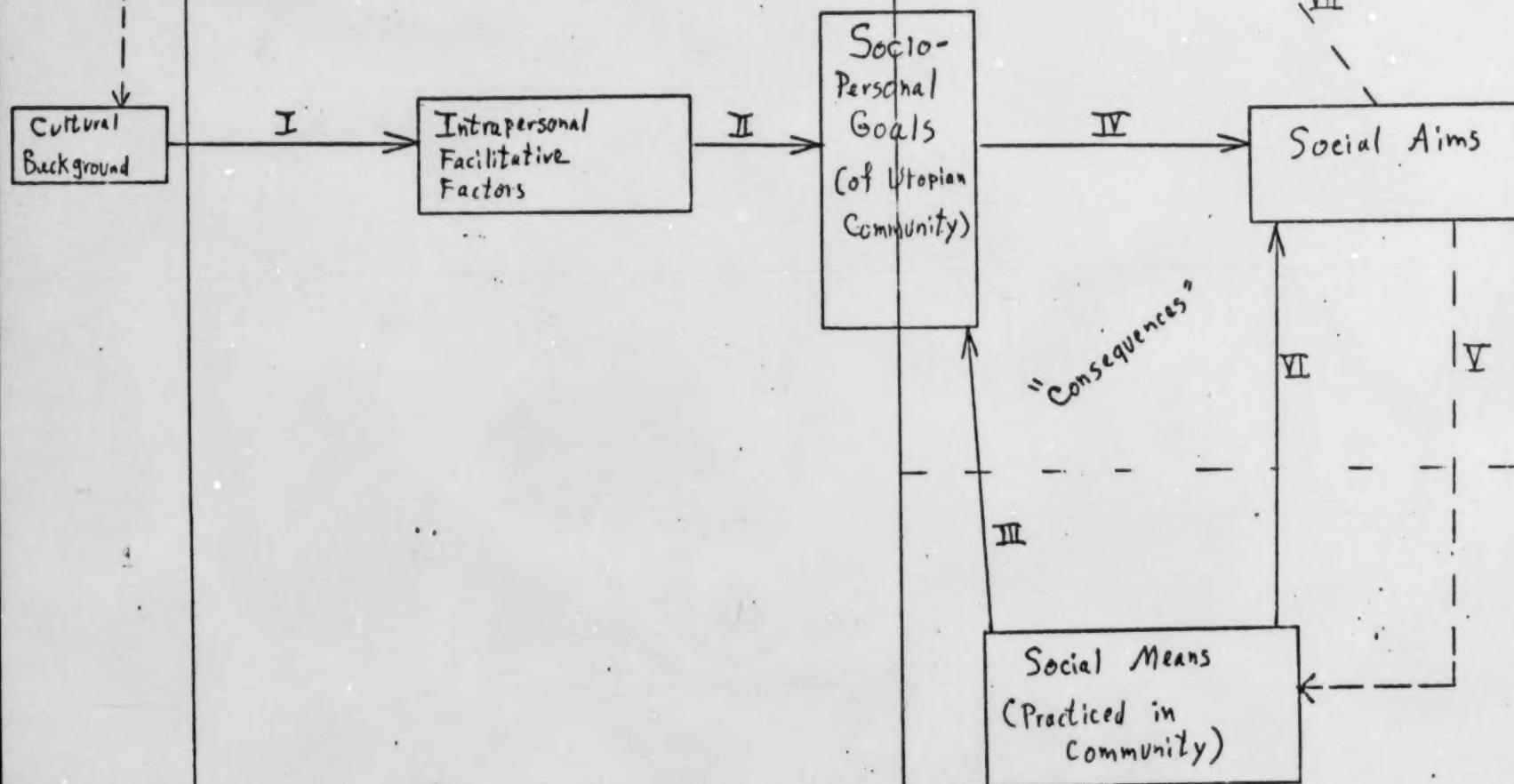
V. Attainment of social aims feeds back into the development of the social means practiced.

VI. The practice of the social means also leads to attainment of the more strictly social aims.

VII. Attainment of the more strictly social aims in a community feeds back into the cultural background of the community.

Chart

Bases for a Practical Utopia
Slawski 3/22/77



Cultural
6

Intrapersonal

Situational

The Four Bases for Utopia

There seem to be four global social bases possible for establishing and maintaining an intentional community, namely, 1) survival interests, 2) justice, 3) cultural flowering, and 4) love. Some of these bases will appear more viable than others, but hard research to verify one over the others is lacking. Soft as it may be, careful analyses of case studies is probably the only means possible to obtain valid data. There are subordinate bases to consider under the four global ones, as follows.

I. Interest, which is defined as satisfaction of basic needs for survival and general welfare, includes the main aim of the intentional community in "maximized individual productivity". This presumes maximizing the individual's ability to contribute to his society or community. This might, in turn, be based on, or attained by A) individual ownership of wealth or property, or B) a "social utility" based reward or educational system. The latter means a rewarding of effort, participation, time and energy spent by the contribution of the resulting product to the smooth and efficient functioning of the society or group. The problem of course is to measure social utility in prospect, let alone in retrospect. The idea of having an educational system based on social utility would be tantamount to providing a curriculum which sorted students into fields most needed by society as seen by planners. Such forecasting of future societal needs is a tentative business, subject to wide errors. But risks are invariably great in any significant social experiments.

II. Justice is a universally revered virtue essential to the functional adaptation of any social group. Some of the most frequently considered aspects of justice in relation to utopian communities include C) equal access to education or training, D) skill, facility and/or involvement-based power or influence. Facility means proven ability to do a job with some ease.

E) A third aspect of justice is that of "balanced productivity" or occupationally based power allotment which is bounded by voting checks and balances, due process of law, etc. F) The fourth aspect of justice is that of "promoting expeditious relationships" (such as those cultivated by salesmen or the stereotypical bureaucrat).

III. Cultural flowering is a kind of existential and humanistic educational goal, usually possible in small, warm communities. It is a somewhat tenuous, but nonetheless valid and possible basis for utopian living.¹⁾ The hippie scene had this flowering as a goal, though not usually very well facilitated by such abuses as unnatural drug-induced states of euphoria.

A more viable way of promoting the same end in a limited fashion is 2) the subordinate aspect of a "maximized variety of cultural values, persons and products which are found desirable by the founders of the utopian community.

IV. Love is the fourth of the global and substantive categories, and the one most favored by the author as the most desirable though not the sole basis for utopia. Love can be viewed in part as 3) "deep interpersonal relationships" (the traditional meaning), or 4) "deep intergroup relationships" (a larger meaning of charity). Finally, there is the basis of 5) religious values. In virtually all major world religions, love is at or near the center of their value systems. All of the previously listed values could also be taken as religious values. They all have in fact been taken as at least subordinate or quasi-religious values in practice in various groups.

Studies should be undertaken, likely by means of content analysis, to find out the frequency of such bases in practice, as well as their viability and longevity. It is generally agreed that communities with a religious basis always last longer.

The listing of "Bases for Utopia" are contained in the listing in Table I. The subordinate factors can be classified as follows. The four CAPITALIZED HEADINGS are the most meaningful global and substantive categories or aims of utopia. The five numerals indicate an additional analytically separate set of factors, such as might be arrived at through factor analysis. The six lettered factors (A through F) indicate separate or subordinate aspects under their respective headings.

Table I: BASES FOR UTOPIA

INTEREST (survival and general welfare)

1. Maximized individual Productivity (presuming maximizing his ability to contribute), which in turn might be based on, or attained by:
 - A. Individual ownership (of wealth or property)
 - B. A social utility based reward (or educational system)

JUSTICE

- C. Equal access to education or training
- D. Skill, facility, and/or involvement based power or influence
- E. "Balanced productivity" or occupation based power, via voting checks and balances, due process, etc., (i.e., justice)
- F. Promoting expeditious relationships (salesmen, stereotypical bureaucrats, etc.)

CULTURAL FLOWERING

2. Maximized variety of cultural values, persons, and products (found desirable)

LOVE

3. Deep interpersonal relationships
4. Deep intergroup relationships

OTHER

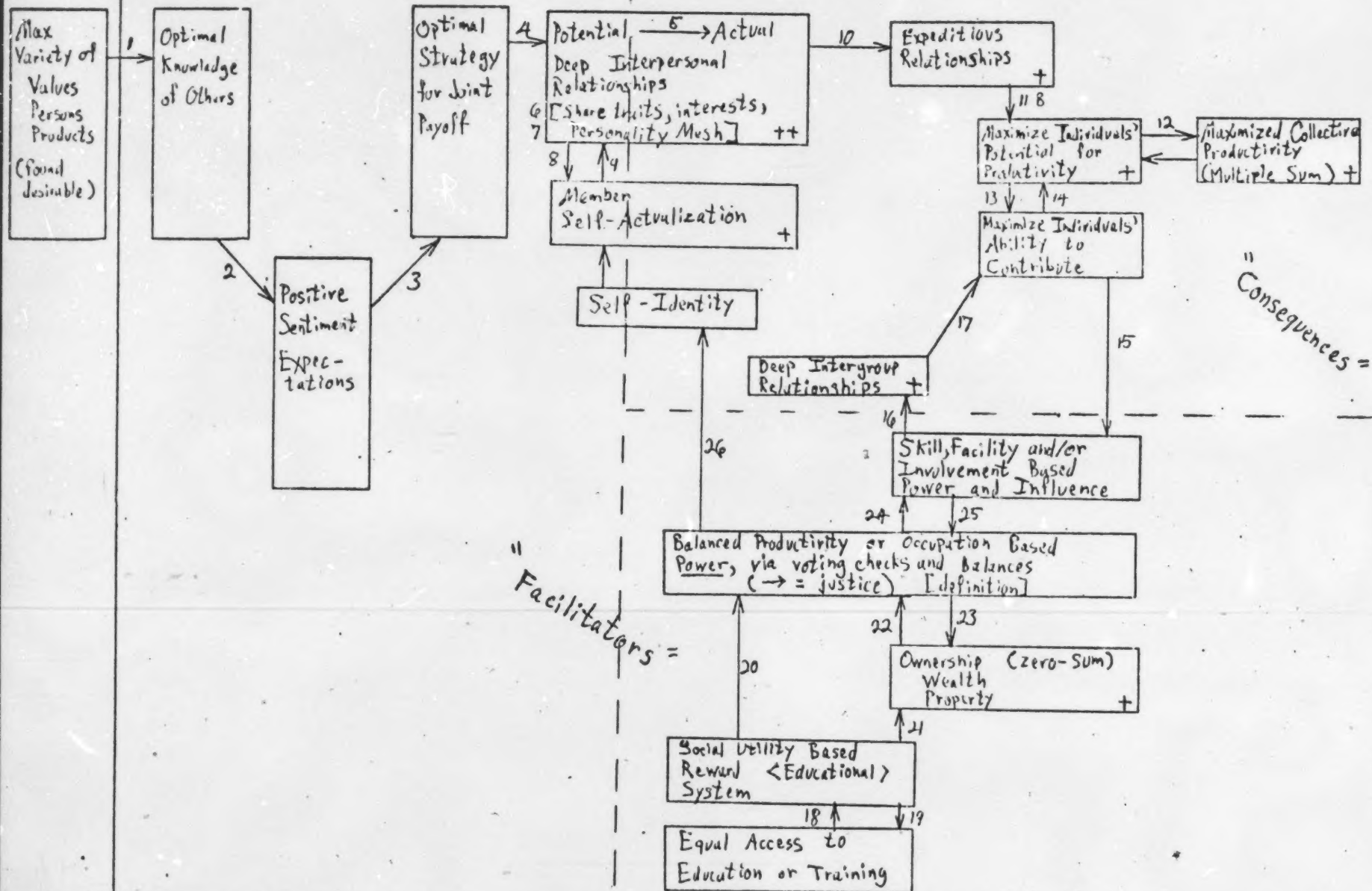
5. Religious values. (which nearly always reinforce if they are not identical with one of the above bases.)

Complex Diagram and Hypotheses

We will next present the comprehensive diagram (Chart B) with seventeen boxes (or concepts), joined by arrows, each representing one hypothesis in the analysis to follow. The hypotheses will be stated in tabular form, with the left column being the precise, abstract researcher's statement, and the right hand column containing the popularized versions of these hypotheses to make them more comprehensible to a general, non-social audience. Following this will come the brief application of the theory to the Kibbutz.

Chart

Social Actualization
Slewski 3/22/77



Cultural

Intrapersonal

Situational

Socio

Task →

Realistic Research Hypotheses

1. If a culture supports a maximized variety of values, persons, and products then the members or participants in that culture will more likely have an "optimal knowledge" of one another.

2. If people have an optimal knowledge of others in or out of their society or group, then they will have positive expectations and sentiments toward these others.

3. If people have positive expectations and sentiments toward others, then their strategies for action will be those mutually agreed upon as optimizing their joint payoffs.

4. If optimal strategies for joint payoff are used, then there will exist the greatest potential for obtaining deep interpersonal relationships with others.

5. Other things being equal, if there is a higher potential for attaining deep interpersonal relationships, then such relationships will more likely be actualized.

6. Interpersonal relationships grow deeper to the extent that people share common traits, then have complementary vital interests, and eventually achieve a meshing of their social personalities.

7. This actual sharing is greatly enhanced when people consciously perceive that they share.

8. If there exist deep interpersonal relationships, then the parties will achieve greater self-actualization.

9. Conversely, if the parties achieve greater self-actualization, they will tend to have deeper interpersonal relationships.

Popular version of hypotheses

1. When variety is in vogue participants will get to know one another better.

2. If I know a person better I'll see the best in him.

3. When we like one another we'll work together.

4. If we work well together we're more likely to become good friends.

5. If we're compatible enough we're more likely to become bosom buddies (or good friends).

6. If we share on many levels we're more likely to have a deeper friendship.

7. When I recognize how much we really have in common this deepens the sharing experience.

8. If we have close friends we'll probably become fulfilled (as a person).

9. Fulfilled people have closer friends.

Research Hypotheses

10. If people achieve deeper interpersonal relationships with some others, then they will also be able more easily to establish relationships with still others, A) which may in turn be used to expedite productivity.

11. If long-range expeditious relationships exist, then the individuals' A) collective and B) individual potential for productivity will be maximized.

12. If potential for individual and joint productivity is so maximized, then the actual collective productivity of the society or group will more easily be maximized (if the members so wish and act).

13. If an individual's potential for productivity is maximized, then it is implied that his ability to contribute to society will also be maximized.

14. Conversely, if the individual's ability to contribute is maximized, then his potential for productivity will be facilitated.

15. If individuals' ability to collectively contribute is maximized, then power or influence in the society or group will more likely be based upon skill, facilities, and/or involvement of the members.

16. If power or influence is based upon skill, facilities, and involvement, then the possibility of attaining deep intergroup relationships is enhanced.

17. In turn, if deep intergroup relationships are present, then the individuals' collective ability to contribute will be maximized.

Popular version of hypotheses

10. Friendships is contagious.
A) It even helps get the job done.

11. If I work well with certain people then I and the team will be able to get more done.

12. If we can work efficiently together (and do so willingly) then our team will produce more.

13. If I am skilled (and have a good track record) I can be a bigger contributor to society.

14. If I can contribute more it's easier for me to actually be productive.

15. If we develop our group potential, then our skill-in-practice will give us power.

16. If our power comes from skill-in-practice we're more likely to be harmonious with other groups.

17. If we have a group friendship the group will more likely be more productive.

Research Hypotheses

18. If there is equal access to education or training in a society or group, then the reward system will more likely be based upon utility for the society as a whole (in the long run).

19. Conversely, if the reward system is based on social utility, then there will more likely be equal (though not necessarily universal) access to education or training.

20. A social utility based reward system will lead to a system in which power is based on the utility and importance of a member's occupation for society or his community or tribal group, A) with some strain toward equalizing the separate members' potential for productivity.

Definition: Implicit in this (hyp. 20) is a system of justice based on voting, and checks and balances between and among the agencies of government or administration, as well as between and among the collectivities with common levels of power.

21. A social utility based reward system also leads to a social system based on zero-sum ownership of wealth and property.

22. A social system based on individual ownership of wealth and property leads to a system of power based on occupational utility and on productive quantity as well as quality.

23. Conversely, a power system based on occupation or differences in productivity tends to lead to a social system in which ownership of wealth and property are central.

Popular version of hypotheses

18. Equal educational opportunity will eventually lead to the goal of the greatest utility for the greatest number.

19. If everyone is regarded for advancing this goal (of "the greatest utility of the greatest number"), we will more likely reach a system of equal educational opportunity.

20. If the principle of "the greatest utility..." is practiced, the power of a person will be based on his contribution (especially his occupation).

A) In this case people will have fewer class distinctions.

Definition: Practice of the principle (of "the greatest utility...") includes voting and checks and balances.

21. The principle (of "the greatest usefulness...") leads to mutually exclusive property rights.

22. The primacy of property rights gives power on the basis of productivity.

23. Power-based productivity leads to the primacy of property rights.

Research Hypotheses

24. A power system based on occupation or relative differences in productivity leads to power or influence being based on skill, facility, and/or involvement.

25. Conversely, a system in which power or influence is based on skill, facility, and/or involvement tends to lead to a basing of power on occupation or on different levels of productivity.

26. A system of power based on occupation or balanced productivity facilitates the attainment of individual members' self-identity.

Popular version of hypotheses

24. A productivity-based system gives power based on skill-in-practice.

25. A system of power based on skill-in-practice emphasizes occupation or level or productivity.

26. If power depends on skill-in-practice it will be easier for me to fulfill myself.

Application of Theory to the Kibbutz

1. If a culture supports a maximized variety of values, persons, and products, then the members or participants in that culture will more likely have an "optimal knowledge" of one another. Rebelling against the small town (shtetl) people who were caricatures of natural and normal men the new generation expressed its collective need for change in the Zionist movement, with its love of nature, love of a nation, self-expression, and emphasis on the emotional aspects of life. In effect this is an attempt to maximize the variety of values, persons and products, at least within their own community of Jewish origin. One of the clear results of the common living and daily schedule of the Kibbutz is a high degree of knowledge of what each other member is doing. In extreme cases this amounts to a lack of privacy, a reason given for the departure of many members from the Kibbutz way of life (P. 320) (Unless stated otherwise, all references are to ^a page number in Schlesinger in Dreitzel, 1972). The values they held important for the education of their children included work, love of humanity, responsibility to the Kibbutz, good character, intellectualism, socialism, Zionism, social participation, patriotism, and cooperation. Their ambitions for their children are first to be a good comrade, and second being a good worker (307).

2. If people have an optimal knowledge of others in or out of their society or group, then they will have positive expectations and sentiments toward these others. There exists a close overall knowledge of the round of life of Kibbutz members of all their comrades. And they certainly have positive sentiments and expectations of their comrades. Unfortunately, it seems that their knowledge and sentiments towards those outside the Kibbutz are no greater or no more positive than those of another nation toward another. Thus the hypothesis holds true only within their society or group.

3. If people have positive expectations and sentiments toward others, then their strategies for action will be those mutually agreed upon as optimizing their joint payoffs. The members definitely have positive expectations and sentiments toward one another. And there is a high degree of mutuality in their strategies for action aimed at optimizing the effectiveness of the Kibbutz, thus also their joint payoffs (305-306).

4. If optimal strategies for joint payoffs are used, then there will exist the greatest potential for obtaining deep interpersonal relationships with others. The strategies used are deemed optimal by the members toward promoting the good of the Kibbutz and the kind of life style they want to have as collectively agreed upon. And certainly the evidence is that they have quite deep relationships with one another. The hypothesis seems to be supported (305). A further indication is the strategy of children not living with parents and siblings as a tightly knit family unit. This did not seem to inhibit the depth of the relationship with their families. And in many ways it seems to promote better relations since there is not the constant attention demand of small children upon the typical housewife, wearing down her nerves and lowering the threshold of undesirable conflict between parent and child (314).

5. Other things being equal, if there is a higher potential for attaining deep interpersonal relationships, then such relationships will more likely be actualized. The Zionist movement was aimed at a greater opportunity for self expression and emotional liberation. And ^{by} all indications the movement members achieved at least that much. Naturally there were drop outs. But we can only validly discuss the situation among those who stayed since data is lacking on defectors (302). Another indication of the validity of the hypothesis is that since after the age of eighteen months each child is placed in a group of four or five of his own age (a kvutza) and a trained nurse. At three or four

he joins a mixed kindergarten of about twenty children aged three to seven. Here he gradually learns responsibility toward other children, the older ones serving as "senior counselors" to the younger. This arrangement certainly provides a high potential for attaining a deep relationship between and among the children. And the subsequent camaraderie and esprit de corps among those who grew up in the Kibbutz shows a most satisfactory and deep relationship has been fostered. Comparisons with other Israeli outside the Kibbutzim gives credence to this assessment, although comparisons with ordinary bureaucratic and technologized city living must be made with care and careful qualification (307).

6. Interpersonal relationships grow deeper to the extent that people share common traits, then have complementary vital interests, and eventually achieve a meshing of their social personalities. The common interest among the early founders (in 1909), the ninety who arrived from the shtetl villages of Poland and Russia whose numbers shrunk from the hardships and labor soon found strong mutual support, close relationships and strong cooperation (302). There is indeed a strong tie to parents among children growing up in the Kibbutz resulting from the relatively short but meaningful contacts established between them. The parents put their young children to bed every night, meet their children in off hours and afternoons, early evenings, Saturdays and holidays. This sharing of time together without the burden of the role of primary socializing agency apparently promotes a deeper or at least a more relaxed relationship between parent and child than is the case in the ordinary nuclear family arrangement (304). As we have seen above, older children learn to function as "senior counselors" to the younger thus establishing a deep relationship between and a correlated^d meshing of their social personalities (307).

Deep relationships, though less so, must also develop between the children and their nurses, and teachers. These are psychologically significant persons and thus of great importance for the child's emotional development (309). The sharing of Kibbutz membership with their peers and the constant sharing with one's peers ^{has somehow} given them an ambivalent feeling toward each other, this being an exception to the hypothesis (310). The experience of learning to share is less traumatic than in most families since the Kibbutz child is from the beginning reared in a group of like-age but biologically unrelated siblings. Sibling rivalry is unusual, and ordinary rivalry is worked out in daily interaction (314).

7. Actual sharing is greatly enhanced when people consciously perceive that they share. This hypothesis is difficult to verify directly because of the lack of such specialized data. But at the extreme, it seems that the perception or sense of sharing is so great that some even find the lack of privacy resulting more than they are comfortable with. This is a significant reason why many members leave the Kibbutz altogether. In other words, there can well be a point after which sharing itself becomes somewhat oppressive.

8. If there exist deep interpersonal relationships, then the parties will achieve greater self-actualization. The deeper relationships between the children provides them at very least with a certain sense of inner security. This comes about in part because they sleep in common quarters rather than alone as most middle-class infants. Together they can comfort and reassure a child who is afraid at night and take care of him as necessary. This in itself is not a sign of self actualization but is a necessary step in that direction (308-309). With their emphasis on modern educational techniques and the cultural environment in general, the children are agreed by educators in and out of the Kibbutz to be more alert, sensitive, and talent-conscious than the average run of farm children elsewhere. There is a feel however that they are also over-protected and spoiled as a result of the very ^{same} factors (313).

9. Conversely, if the parties achieve greater self-actualization, they will tend to have deeper interpersonal relationships. Self actualization is intrinsically bound up with deeper interpersonal relationships, particularly in the minds of the founders of the Kibbutz. They sought an escape from the human caricatures of the Jewish Polish and Russian (shtetl) villages. Self expression, emotional values, and emancipation from artificial convention combined with the hard work of founding and maintaining the Kibbutz resulted in close relationships, mutual support, and strong cooperation.

10. If people achieve deeper interpersonal relationships with some others, then they will also be able more easily to establish relationships with still others, which may in turn be used to expedite productivity. It is quite possible, and even probable that the close contact with members of their immediate contacts within a given Kibbutz helped them to achieve better relationships with the other members of their Kibbutz. At the same time it is likely that they thus gained a bond of common experience which bound them to members of other Kibbutzim, and when the occasion arose facilitated mutual interaction. On the question of whether these relationships helped the Kibbutz members to get along better with those outside the Kibbutz, or outside Israel is a hard question to judge. It seems likely that the members would by definition have less contact with outsiders since the Kibbutz is such an absorbing way of life, even being a total institution of sorts, except that members can leave the Kibbutz if they so choose. It seems quite clear that the institution of the Kibbutz has given a high degree of productivity to the participants, probably higher than they could have obtained or achieved by their separate efforts in normal city life or agricultural labor.

11. If long-range expeditious relationships exist, then the individuals' collective and individual potential for productivity will be maximized. It

seems clear that the entire way of life is structured around the work-related activities although the importance of comradeship and the human element is probably equal in importance (at least in theory). However, this description has no evidence that it is these kind of relationships that promote productivity. Still it remains true that there is a high actual potential for productivity for both individuals and the collectivity. This begins with childhood when the children are made to feel a welcome and important part of their parents' occupational activities and those of the whole community (309). The other significant persons in the child's life are his nurses, teachers and group (309). The children very early become independent of their parents, they learn to make their own decisions, they are good workers, and their leadership potential is quickly spotted and developed. They become alert to group developments and aware of other people and their problems. Loyalty to the Kibbutz is a natural concomitant of the happy childhood experienced by those who grow up there (p. 313).

12. If potential for individual and joint productivity is so maximized, then the actual collective productivity of the society or group will more easily be maximized (if the members so wish and act). Although there are financial problems at times, the strong kibbutzim can be a threat to normal capitalistic enterprise (p. 322). The problem arises in the fact that aggressive entrepreneurs and business leaders are not interested in a successful socialist community (322). As a result the potential for productivity of goods is not realized.

13. If an individual's potential for productivity is maximized, then it is implied that his ability to contribute to society will also be maximized. The attempt to free women from their accustomed roles was planned to free them for greater opportunity for cultural, political or artistic expressions. Domestic chores such as cleaning, cooking and laundry were replaced in fact by other forms of strenuous physical life, long hours and even accompanied by frustration due

to separation from their children as a result of the communal educational system (304 and 324). Although the ties within the families are acutally more continuous, more meaningful and more intense (p. 305) since the children share in the adult's work as far as possible, some longer range problems have occurred. Many women cause tension in the Kibbutz because they are unhappy in their role. As a result they have no desire to assume social responsibility. They wish to find happiness in their private lives and consequently often resent the time which their spouses devote to these activities. Since they are insecure in their sexual roles, they feel a need for more and nicer clothes (p. 325). Thus we see that though their potential for productivity is maximized it is done so in a way that is unaccustomed. Many are unable to adapt to these new roles. In a standard family structure their ability to contribute would have been maximized but here it seems it is minimized. Resignations from the kibbutz may be the result.

14. Conversely, if the individual's ability to contribute is maximized, then his potential for productivity will be facilitated. Although the ability to contribute in a maximal way is facilitated for most people (it seems most women included), the potential for productivity of a significant number of women is inhibited, as noted above, by their lack of adaptation to the atypical women's roles relative to their expectations. It would be interesting to find out if this were more true for women raised outside the kibbutz than inside. We would expect that those raised inside especially with little contact with outside family life would just as readily adapt to the way of life since socialization plays so great a part in determining what we as individuals can adapt to.

15. If individuals' ability to contribute to the collectivity is maximized, then power or influence in the society or group will more likely be based upon skill, facilities, and/or involvement of the members. Power and influence does

seem to be based upon skill, facilities of the members in some sort of rotating fashion. And this seems intimately connected with the attempt to maximize each individual's ability^{to} contribute to the collectivity. However, it is very difficult to decide which came first, the system of power and influence, or the condition in which, or plans to maximize each individual's ability to contribute to the collectivity.

16. If power or influence is based upon skill, facilities, and involvement, then the possibility of attaining deep intergroup relations is enhanced. Since the power and influence system is set up so that the criteria for their attainment are skill, facilities and involvement, especially when rotated to prevent a power elite from emerging, the vertical or class and status relations within the group are minimized. The result will almost surely be greater equality of relations within the group. And the similar experience should be a positive help to maintaining deep relations with other Kibbutzim and their members. It is very questionable however whether this will help them to obtain deeper relations with other nations and peoples in itself. If their contacts with outsiders is more restricted, and they are caught up in the movement and their work in their industries or on their land, they are liable to remain indifferent to members of other cultures. They are not in any better position for example to have better relationships with Arabs. However, because of their unique experience, they may have more insight into the workings of other cultures, even industrial cultures by setting themselves apart from cities and excessive capitalism. They may be led to stereotype those urban outsiders though and set up psychological barriers to understanding the viability of those other life styles. There is room for great debate here on just what life style is humanly most fulfilling.

17. If deep intergroup relationships are present, then the individuals' collective ability to contribute will be maximized. In the absence of good

information on the subject, we can only assume that the relationships between other Kibbutz members, and between Kibbutzim remain deep or solid and brotherly. The movement is large enough that the individuals' ability to contribute to the collectivity is increased as a result. Assuming that their relations with non-Kibbutz or non-Israeli persons and groups is no better than average, we must conclude that their contribution to say the cause of world integration and peace is no greater than that for outsiders, non-members. If the example of their way of life is sufficiently influential and positive in the way of providing a good example of a way of life that can promote greater fulfillment and deeper relations with one's neighbor and also with other nations, then there is some basis for strong praise of the Kibbutz experiments in the context of the world order. The adolescents of the Kibbutz show greater range and complexity of ideas compared to ordinary farm families (315). From all descriptions the children turn into exceptionally courageous, self-reliant, secure, unneurotic, and deeply committed adults who find their self-realization in work and in marriage. The marriages are not only stable, but by North American standards exceptionally satisfactory.

18. If there is equal access to education or training in a society or group, then the reward system for that society or group will more likely be based upon utility for the society as a whole (in the long run). There is equal access to education and training in the kibbutz. And the reward system is indeed based on utility for the society as a whole, without neglecting the individual human and emotional needs.

19. If the reward system is based on social utility, then there will more likely be equal (though not necessarily universal) access to education or training. This is true for the same reasons given for hypothesis 18, above (307).

20. A social utility based reward system will lead to a system in which power is based on the utility and importance of a member's occupation for society or his community or tribal group, with some strain toward equalizing the separate members' potential for productivity. The equalization of the rewards (if that is actually the case) seems to go counter to the possibility of a power system based on occupation. Yet there must be some such influence not discussed in the present source. Committees are appointed and given a budget. Once a year at the beginning of the agricultural year, elections of all the officials and committees of the settlement are held. A program of activities for the coming year is laid down and the detailed budget is fixed. The organizational, social, and economic activities of the settlement are conducted in accordance with these decisions (303).

Definition: Implicit in this is a system of justice based on voting, and checks and balances between and among the agencies of government or administration, as well as between and among the collectivities with common levels of power. The committees and assemblies of the Kibbutz must indeed have a system and procedures for making decisions and adjudicating grievances, though the source is not explicit.

21. A social utility based reward system also leads to a social system based on zero-sum ownership of wealth and property. It seems that the system is based more on equality, with utility taking a second place. The ownership of wealth and property is held in common, which no doubt does away with the acquired need for self-aggrandizement so common in individualistic systems, such as the shtetl of Poland and Russia which the forefathers of the kibbuzniks fled from in the early part of the century (301).

22. A social system based on individual ownership of wealth and property leads to a system of power based on occupational utility and on productive quantity

as well as quality. The system is based on collective ownership with power presumably based on rotating authority through election (and hence public opinion of who is capable), thus compromising the centrality of occupational utility to a community cooperation scheme and productivity according to one's ability (302).

23. Conversely, a power system based on occupation of differences in productivity tends to lead to a social system in which ownership of wealth and property are central. Since occupation and quantitative productivity are placed in context with humane values, work being most valued, but not necessarily productivity at the expense of emotional factors, the ownership, correlatively, is held in common (306).

24. A power system based on occupation or relative differences in productivity leads to power or influence being based on skill, facility, and/or involvement. Presumably occupational competence and productivity leads certain people to be elected to positions of authority thus giving power and influence to the most skilled and the most involved (303). Work productivity is indeed a high value, seemingly the highest (311, 306).

25. A system in which power or influence is based on skill, facility, and/or involvement tends to lead to a basing of power on occupation or on different levels of productivity. The relative value of productivity as such in relation to simply being a devoted worker is unclear. The organization which obviates the usual family obligations apparently does so in part in order to maximize occupational values and accompanying productivity (303). The Kibbutz Industries Association plans new projects for each kibbutz giving some indication of the importance of skill. Presumably there is a notable degree of power associated with these enterprises, and an accompanying base of power in occupation (322).

26. A system of power based on occupation or balanced productivity facilitates the attainment of individual members' self-identity. The emphasis on work and democratic control with goods held in common seems in the long run to be beneficial for those who fit into this life style. For others of course productivity and even humane values would only be lessened. Their overall welfare and the success of the Kibbutz movement itself can only be forwarded if those people who are sufficiently dissatisfied can freely leave the Kibbutz for another way of life. And many do.

Significance of the Theory of Utopia

Our aim was ultimately to provide a capstone and guiding light for long-range planners or ships at sea. The more immediate goal was to give direction to researchers foraging about for fruitful topics or for analyzing data in a way that could be constructive for all persons concerned with solving social problems and working toward a better society for all nations and peoples. On a middle-range level, the theory is a first serious attempt to give specific hypotheses which are amenable to testing and demonstration by scholars with moderate training. It is stated in a way that should stimulate the thoughtful observer to new ideas of his own or alternate theories and approaches. Perhaps some chance reader might be inspired to play his own community living experience in keeping with the ideas expressed here. Hopefully, at least in some small way, the goals of greater harmony between men and nations will be advanced.

Concrete, Practical Value of Specific

Hypotheses on Social Actualization

Although the specific hypotheses are quite tentative, they are such because the concepts in them are philosophical in scope and level of abstraction. How can such highly abstract concepts be seen as practical? Or how can they be practically applied? Kurt Lewin once said there's nothing so practical as a good theory. Their application depends on the organizational sense and capability of thoughtful leaders willing to invest a period of their lives in genuine social experimentation. Previous attempts in literature need to be systematically evaluated for feasibility. Ideally such studies can be used to continue to fine-tune the letter and spirit, the rules and goals of ongoing social communities. Some observers will always find utopian ideas unrealistic. Others will find them fascinating but never get around to putting their principles into practice. It is unfortunately the rare deviant or prophet who puts it into practice in a complete sense. But it is the primary intention of this study to stimulate individuals to observe what is best in such experiments and put their principles into practice in small ways in daily life.

APPENDIX:

Directions for Future Research

Applications similar to that done in the body of this paper would provide a useful basis for comparison of common types of intentional communities. A very long list of criteria could be applied for comparative purposes. The following list is a starting point which tries to at least tentatively classify the dimensions into an accounting scheme. When two or more case histories of intentional communities have been described and noted on these dimensions we will be on our way to a fuller, practical understanding of the anatomy of realistic utopias.

Appendix: CRITICAL CRITERIA: A PARADIGM FOR PRACTICAL SOCIAL VISIONS

- A. W. Bell et al, Paradigm for the Analysis of Time Perspectives & Images of the Future (Bell & Mau, 1971: 47-54)
- B. Winthrop's tableau for Constructing a Social Philosophy (in Bell & Mau, 1971: 96-102)
- C. Kanter's Data Summary Questionnaire (for 258 columns of data, 1972: 244-269).

I. Hidden Religious Structures (Machalek and Martin, 1976) (involves Motives).

A. ULTIMATE CONCERNS

- 1. Immanent
 - A. Material
 - B. Humanist
 - 1) Micro
 - 2) Macro
 - C. Existential
- 2. Transcendent
- 3. God As...(23 items in Lilly, 1975)

B. COPING STRATEGIES

- 1. Privatized
 - A. Humanist
 - B. Transcendent
- 2. Organized (Means)
 - A. Informal
 - 1) Humanist
 - 2) Transcendental
 - B. Formal
 - 1) Humanist
 - 2) Transcendent

II. THE FUNCTIONAL PREREQUISITES (Aberle et al, 1950)

- A. Provision for adequate relationship to the environment and for sexual recruitment.
- B. Role differentiation and role assignment.
- C. Communication
- D. Shared cognitive orientations.
 - 1. Make possible adaptation to and manipulation of the situation.
 - 2. Make stable, meaningful and predictable the social situations.
 - 3. Account for aspects of the situation over which they do not have adequate prediction and control in a way that sustains motivation.
- E. A shared, articulated set of goals.
- F. The normative regulation of means.
- G. The regulation of affective expression.
 - 1. Affective states mutually communicable and comprehensible.
 - 2. Some must be expressed or repressed.
 - 3. Some affects must be produced if the social structure is to survive.
- H. Socialization.
- I. Effective control of disruptive forms of behavior.

- III. FOUR CONDITIONS TERMINATING THE EXISTENCE OF A SOCIETY (Aberle et al, 1950)
 - A. The biological extinction or dispersion of the members
 - B. Apathy of the members.
 - C. The war of all against all
 - D. The absorption of the society into another society.
- IV. STUMBLING BLOCK TO FAILURE (Lockwood in Manuel, 1966:200)
 - A. Care in selecting members
 - B. Reliable means of economic survival.
 - C. Successful transfer of power to successors (of charismatic founder).
- V. VALUE PERSPECTIVE ON ORDER VS. CONFLICT (Horton, 1966)
 - A. Society
 - 1. Four forms vs.
 - 2. Meta-Schools (on change: equilibrium, evolutionary, rise-and-fall, conflict, from Appelbaum, 1970)
 - B. Human Nature
 - C. Deviant Behavior
 - 1. Social Problems
 - D. Health
 - 1. Mental
 - 2. Psychotherapeutic Orientations (4 of Bart in Bell & Mau, 1971)
 - a. Freud
 - b. Maslow, Rogers
 - c. Skinner
 - d. Marx, Pavlov
 - E. The Social Good
- VI. META-GOALS
 - A. Exemplary
 - B. Reform
 - C. Four bases (in text of paper)
 - 1. Interest
 - 2. Justice
 - 3. Cultural Flowering
 - 4. Love
- VII. MECHANISMS FOR:
 - A. Conflict accommodation/resolution or dissolution.
 - B. Creative Thinking (H.H. Anderson, 1959)
 - C. Assuring Privacy
 - D. Types of Change Process (2 x 2 table adapted from Bennis et al)
 - 1. Involves means of obtaining all other goals on the chart.
- VIII. SUCCESS: Measures
 - A. Internal (to own or group's goals)
 - B. Social Influence
 - 1. Issues raise or
 - 2. Insights gained from the experience (Winthrop in Bell, 1971)
 - C. Idealistic Statements Implemented:
 - 1. U.N. Declaration of Human Rights
 - 2. Shelley, Declaration of Rights (in Chianese, 1971: 282-286)

3. U.S. Bill of Rights (in Chianese, 1971: 286-288)
4. Gandhian principles of conflict resolution (Naess, 1958).
5. Port Huron Statement (in Goldwin, 1971, originally written 1962)
6. Seventeen variables (coordinated: see Chart B in text).
7. Other

IX. IDEAL TYPES EXEMPLIFIED:

- A. Historical: (Manuel, 1966, 69f.)**
1. Calm Felicity
 2. Open-ended (19th ct.)
 3. Contemporary Eupsychias

X. CONSEQUENCES FOR THE FUTURE

XI. FOUR CRITERIA FOR A GOOD THEORY (Slawski, 1974)

1. Ease of Application
2. Information Value
3. Predictability
4. Explanatory Power

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aberle, D.F., A.K. Cohen, A.K. Davis, M.J. Levy, Jr., and F.X. Sutton
 1950 "The Functional Prerequisites of a Society." *Ethics* 60 (January): 100-111.
- Abrams, Carol, and A. Abrams
 1970 "Our Life on a Border Kibbutz." *National Geographic* 138,3 (September): 364-391.
- Anderson, Harold H. (ed.)
 1959 *Creativity, and its Cultivation*. N.Y.: Harper and Row.
- Arendt, Hannah
 1958 *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bateson, Gregory
 1972 *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Behrendt, Richard F.
 1969 "Some Structural prerequisites for a global society based on non-violent conflict resolution." Pp. 66-68 in Robert Jungk and Johan Galtung (eds.), *Mankind 2000*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Beitz, Charles, and Michael Washburn
 1968 *Creating the Future*. New York: Bantam.
- Bell, Daniel (ed.)
 1967 *Towards the Year 2000: Work in Progress*. *Daedalus* 96, 3 (Summer): whole issue.
- Bell, Wendell, and James Mau (eds.)
 1971 *The Sociology of the Future*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Bennis, Warren, E. Schein, F.I. Steele, and D. Berlew (eds.)
 1969 *Interpersonal Dynamics*. Homewood: Dorsey.
- Bennis, Warren, Kenneth Benne, and R. Chin (eds.)
 1969 *The Planning of Change*, 2nd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Ben-Yousef, Avraham C.
 1963 *The Purest Democracy in the World*. New York: Herzl Press.
- Bernard, Jessie
 1972 *The Future of Marriage*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Bernerl, Marie Louise
 1950 *Journey Through Utopia*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Bettelheim, Bruno
 1970 *The Children of the Dream*. New York: Macmillan.

- Bishop, Clare Huchet
1950 All Things Common. New York: Harper.
- Boguslaw, Robert
1965 The New Utopians, A Study of System Design and Social Change. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Buber, Martin
1949 Paths in Utopia. Boston, Beacon Press.
- Bugental, J. F. T. (ed.)
Challenges of Humanistic Psychology. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Capps, Donald, and Walter H. Capps (eds.)
1970 The Religious Personality. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Co. Inc.
- Chianese, Robert L. (ed.)
1971 Peaceable Kingdoms. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc.
- Cohen, Erik
1964 Bibliography of the Kibbutz. Giv'at Havira, Tel Aviv: Israel Press.
- Cole, H.S.D., Christopher Freeman, Marie Jahoda, and K.L.R. Pavitt (eds.)
1973 Models of Doom: A Critique of the Limits to Growth. New York: Universe Books.
- Coleman, James S.
1972 "Policy Research in the Social Sciences." Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press. 23 p.
- Colfax, J. David, and Jack L. Roach (eds.)
1971 Radical Sociology. New York: Basic Books.
- Davis, Murray S.
1973 Intimate Relations. New York: Free Press.
- Edwards, John E.
1967 "The Disutility of Utopias." The American Sociologist 2, 3, (August): 165-168.
- Etzioni, Amitai
1958 The Organizational Structure of the Kibbutz. Dissertation. New York: Columbia University.
- Fromm, Erich
1976 To Have or to Be. New York: Harper and Row.
1968 The Revolution of Hope. New York: Harper and Row.
- Fuller, R. Buckminster
1963 Nine Chains to the Moon. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday (Anchor).
1969 Utopia or Oblivion: The Prospects for Humanity. New York: Bantam.

The Futurist

All issues of this journal are useful.

Gandhi, M.K.

1942-

1949 Non Violence in Peace and War. 2 vols. Ahmedabad: unknown.

Glass, John F., and John R. Staude (eds.)

1972 Humanistic Society: Today's Challenge to Sociology. Pacific Palisades, CA: Goodyear.

Goldstein, Jeffrey H.

1975 Aggression and Crimes of Violence. New York: Oxford University Press.

Goldwin, Robert A. (ed.)

1971 How Democratic in America, Responses to the New Left Challenge. Chicago: Rand McNally. Includes the Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society.

Goodman, Paul

1962 Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals. New York: Random House.

Goodman, Percival and Paul Goodman

1974 Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Also Random House pb.

Gusfield, Joseph R.

1973 "Utopian Myths and Movements in Modern Societies." Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Corp. 33 p.

Hampden-Turner, Charles

1971 Radical Man. Garden City: Doubleday (Anchor).

Helmer, Olaf

1972 On the Future State of the Union. Report R-27. Menlo Park, CA: Institute for the Future.

Hine, Robert V.

1953 California's Utopian Colonies. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Houriet, Robert

1973 Getting Back Together. London: Sphere Books Ltd. (Abacus).

Horton, John

1966 "Order and Conflict Theories of Social Problems as Competing Ideologies." American Journal of Sociology 71, 6 (May): 701-713.

Illich, Ivan D.

1970 Celebration of Awareness, A Call for Institutional Revolution. Garden City: Doubleday (Anchor).

- Infield, Henrik F.
1946 Cooperative Living in Palestine. Unknown
- Jaspers, Karl
1957 Socrates, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, The Paradigmatic Individuals.
New York: Harcourt, Brace & World (Harvest Books).
- John of the Cross, Saint
1959 Dark Night of the Soul. 3rd. ed. tr. by E. Allison Peers. Garden City: Doubleday (Image).
- Jungk, Robert, and Johan Galtung (eds.)
1969 Mankind 2000. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Kahn, Herman, and Anthony J. Wiener
1967 "The Next Thirty-Three Years: A Framework for Speculation." Daedalus 96: 705-732.
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss
1972 Commitment and Community. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Kateb, George
1963 Utopia and its Enemies. New York: Schocken.
- Kennedy, Robert F.
1967 To Seek a Newer World. New York: Bantam.
- Kephart, William
1976 Extraordinary Groups: The Sociology of Unconventional Life Styles. New York: St. Martin's.
- Laing, R.D.
1967 The Politics of Experience and the Bird of Paradise. London: Penguin.
- Leon, Dan
1969 The Kibbutz, A New Way of Life. New York: Oxford and Pergamon Press.
- Lilly, John C., M.D.
1975 Simulations of God, The Science of Belief. New York: Bantam.
- Lippman, Walter
1943 The Good Society. New York: Grosset & Dunlap.
- Machalek, Richard, and Michael Martin
1976 "'Invisible' Religions: Some Preliminary Evidence." Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion 15, 4: 311-321.
- Manuel, Frank E. (ed.)
1966 Utopias and Utopian Thought. Boston: Beacon.
- Mao Tse-Tung
1968 Four Essays on Philosophy. Peking: Foreign Languages Press.

Marcuse, Herbert

1969 An Essay on Liberation. Boston: Beacon.

McGill, V.J.

1967 The Idea of Happiness. New York: Praeger.

Meadows, Donnell M., Dennis L. Meadows, Jorgen Randers and William W. Behrens III

1972 The Limits to Growth. New York: Universe Books.

Moltmann, Jurgen

1967 Theology of Hope. New York: Harper and Row.

Moore, Barrington, Jr.

1972 Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery and Upon Certain Proposals to Eliminate Them. Boston: Beacon.

Moore, Wilbert E.

1966 "The Utility of Utopias." American Sociological Review 31, 6 (December): 765-772.

Morgan, Arthur

1942 The Small Community. New York: Harper.

Mumford, Lewis

1922 The Story of Utopias. New York: Viking Compass.

Muncy, Raymond Lee

1973 Sex and Marriage in Utopian Communities. Baltimore: Penguin (Pelican).

Naess, Arne

1958 "A Systematization of Gandhian ethics of conflict resolution." Journal of Conflict Resolution 2: 140-155. Reprinted as pp. 539-550 in W. Edgar Vinacke, Warner R. Wilson, and Gerald M. Meredith (eds.), Dimensions of Social Psychology. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co.

Negley, Glenn, and J. Max Patrick (eds.)

1952 The Quest for Utopia. New York: Schuman.

Nordhoff, Charles

1965 The Communistic Societies of the U.S. (1794-1875). New York: Schocken.

Noyes, Pierpont

1937 My Father's House: An Oneida Boyhood. New York: Farrar & Rinehart.

Ofshe, Richard (ed.)

1970 The Sociology of the Possible. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Packard, Vance

1972 A Nation of Strangers. New York: McKay.

Parnes, Sidney J., and Harold F. Harding (eds.)

1962 A Source Book for Creative Thinking. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Rabin, A.I.

1965 Growing Up in the Kibbutz. New York: Springer.

1971 Kibbutz Studies, A Digest of Books and Articles. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Roszak, Theodore

1969 The Making of a Counter Culture. Garden City: Doubleday (Anchor).

1972 Where the Wasteland Ends. Garden City: Doubleday (Anchor).

Roths, Louis E., S. Wasserman, A. Jonas and A.M. Rothstein

1967 Teaching for Thinking, Theory and Application. Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill Books.

Sadhu, Mouni

1959 Concentration: A Guide to Mental Mastery. North Hollywood, CA: Wilshire Book Co.

Schlesinger, Benjamin

1972 "Family Life in the Kibbutz of Israel: Utopia Gained or Paradise Lost? ch. 13, pp. 301-331 in Hans. P. Dreitzel (ed.), Family, Marriage, and the Struggle of the Sexes, Recent Sociology No. 4 New York: Macmillan

Shatz, Marshall (ed.)

1972 The Essential Works of Anarchism. New York: Quadrangle.

Skinner, B.F.

1962 Walden II. New York: Macmillan.

Slawski, Carl

1972 "Signs of Love: Toward a Sociology of Deep Interpersonal Relationships." Annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New Orleans.

1974 "Evaluating Theories Comparatively." Zeitschrift fur Soziologie 3, 4 (October): 397-408.

1977a "A Global Family Policy: Means and Aims. Unpublished.

1977b "Love, Power and Conflict: Toward a Systems Model of Interparty Negotiation." Proceedings of the Annual North American meetings of the Society for General Systems Research, Denver, Colorado.

----- Society for General Systems Research.

1975 Systems Thinking and the Quality of Life, Proceedings of the 1975 Annual North American Meeting. New York City (January 27-30).

Spiro, Melford E.

1958 Children of the Kibbutz. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

1971 Kibbutz, Venture in Utopia. New York: Schocken.

Stern, Boris

1965 The Kibbutz that Was. Washington: Public Affairs Press.

Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre

1960 The Divine Milieu. New York: Harper & Row. (1957 in French).

Thoreau, Henry David

1951 Walden. Garden City: Doubleday (Anchor).

Tolstoy, Leo

1967 Tolstoy's Writings on Civil Disobedience and Non-Violence. New York: New American Library (Signet Books).

Watts, Alan W.

1961 Psychotherapy East & West. New York: Ballantine.

1965 The Joyous Cosmology. New York: Random House (Vintage).

1972 In My Own Way, An Autobiography. New York: Random House (Vintage).

Weingarten, Murray

1959 Life in a Kibbutz. Jerusalem: Zionist Organization.

Wells, H.G.

A Modern Utopia. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Winthrop, Henry

1968 "The Sociologist and the Study of the Future." The American Sociologist 3, 2 (May): 136-145.

Wilson, William E.

1964 The Angel and the Serpent: The Story of New Harmony. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Woodcock, George

1962 Anarchism, A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements. Cleveland: World Publishing Co. (Meridian Books).

Zablocki, Benjamin

1971 The Joyful Community. Baltimore: Pelican.

Zaleznik, A., C.R. Christensen, and F.J. Roethlisberger

1958 The Motivation, Productivity and Satisfaction of Workers: A Prediction Study. Boston: Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration.